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*796 the afternoon a dinner is served there to twelve of the older men. This symbolizes the Last Supper. A thirteenth chair is left vacant. The Lenten meal is eaten: [264] fish, rice, and sometimes lentils and the dish known as [262] *revoltijo*.[1]

Wednesday.—Today and Thursday and Friday and on Saturday morning only absolutely necessary work is done. No social entertainment is held, no rocket is discharged. The men do not go to fetch wood from the mountains; the public washing-stones are deserted. The women do only the unavoidable grinding and cooking. People try to have enough water hauled by Tuesday night to last until Saturday. The bells are [534] not rung in the church towers; instead, the *matraca*, a huge wooden rattle, is sounded.

*796 *Thursday*.—The altars in the church are decorated 782 with laurel and with cedar. On each lie rows of oranges and *toronjos* (the shaddock), with little squares [824] of gold and silver paper pasted on them.[2] An image [778] (El Señor de Santo Entierro) is displayed in a glass-and-gilt coffin. A man sits at the entrance of the church to collect offerings (which are occasional and not made as perpetual pledges) for the crown and clothing of this image. In the afternoon, if the priest is there, he washes the feet of the Disciples. Many

[1] A seasoned stew of shrimps and nopal (cactus).

[2] The laurel and cedar are given away the following Monday. They are used [789] to stop storms, particularly hailstorms. When a storm approaches, people put one of these sacred boughs on the fire and the storm recedes. Frances Toor (*op. cit.*, p. 54) says they are also hung up at doors and windows to keep out evil spirits. The oranges and shaddocks are blessed by the priest and sold; the peel is [757] used for various remedies.

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October 31.[1]—Tomorrow will be *Todos Santos* ("All Saints"), when are commemorated those who died as children. On November 2 will be remembered those who died as adults. Tomorrow is the "day of the little ones." At eight o'clock in the evening in every home a candle is lighted for each dead child there remembered, and copal incense set burning. The candle is decorated with flowers and ribbons. Before the candles food is set. In the old days this was *itacates*, bean *tamales*, and *mole verde*. Now they offer bread, chocolate, and sometimes chicken or fish. At one side a bowl of milk and little cakes (*mamones*) are set for the very little ones. To keep away the Evil One a jar of holy water is put out, and a paternoster is said while the holy water is sprinkled with a flower taken from the offering.

Every utensil used must be new—baskets, spoons, the *petate*, the incense-burner.

Each dead child is called by name and the food is offered him, while plates and wooden spoons are laid out for each. The family keeps vigil all night.

November 1.—At six in the morning people come to the Templo Mayor and the priest asks a blessing for the child dead. Then all return to their homes and eat the offering of food laid out the night before.

In the evening the offering is laid out for the adult dead. Now the candles lighted are large ones, and instead of bright-colored flowers and ribbons, the can-

[1] This account of the Festival of the Dead is based on the accounts (which coincided) of but two informants.

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fortunate in this respect. Tepoztlán is just above the malaria area, and although some malaria occurs it is generally contracted by Tepoztecans who have been working in the lowlands. The climate of Tepoztlán is one of the most healthful in the state of Morelos, and Tepoztlán has one of the lowest death rates in the state.

The average annual temperature for the village is about 65° F. However, there are marked daily and seasonal variations. In the rainy season mornings are usually humid and cool but by midday the temperature is up to 65°. The evenings are cool. During the months of November, December, and January the nights and early mornings are much colder, and the temperature drops to 35° to 40°. The cold works hardships on the people because of the lack of warm clothing. However, even during these months the temperature rises to 65° and 70° by midday. At no time does the temperature rise above 80°. While it gets hot in the open fields under the sun, it is generally comfortable in the village because of the many shade trees on almost every house site. The daily variations in temperature and humidity are partially responsible for the high frequency of rheumatic complaints and respiratory diseases.

The rainy season begins toward the end of May or early June and generally lasts to mid-October.[1] The average annual rainfall in the village is about 60 inches, most of which comes during the five months from June to October. In June and July the rains generally come in the afternoon and last for a few hours. During these months the working day in the fields ends at about 2:00 P.M. In August and September the rains generally begin later in the afternoon and frequently last through the night. However, there is much variation within this general pattern. Although droughts are not uncommon, excessive rainfall is the more common complaint. Sometimes Tepoztecans cannot cultivate their crops with plow and oxen because of the mud.

The crucial months for the corn crop are August and September when the ears of corn are filling out. The occasional lack of rain during these months is attributed by some of the older folks to the failure of the dancers, at the fiesta in honor of the deity El Tepozteco, to carry out correctly the traditional ceremonies. The coexistence of pagan and Catholic elements in beliefs concerning rain is shown by the fact that the saints of the central church, as well as those of the barrios, are taken in procession through the village to pray for rain when necessary. Hailstorms occur in the rainy season but they are generally brief. It is a common belief among Tepoztecans that the setting off of firecrackers or the shooting of guns will stop the hail.

The dry season begins in October or November and lasts for seven long months. The earth becomes parched and many of the semi-deciduous trees lose their leaves. Water must be hauled in greater quantities for the animals, the flowers, and the young trees on the house sites. Winds from the north cause small dust storms in the village and sometimes damage the ripening corn. Respiratory diseases are more frequent during this time of the year. Because of the dry season, only one crop a

[1] See Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 121, for description of the rains.

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often than the president and that he generally visits the village before elections makes the villagers feel less distant toward him. There is less hesitancy about sending a delegation to the governor than to the president. On the other hand, Tepoztecans are much more critical of the governor and the state government than of the president. Tepoztecans recognize the necessity of a federal government to maintain order and "to protect us from the foreigners." They see much less reason for the existence of the state government, but they fear and respect its powers and authority.

Bodies such as the Procuradería General del Estado and the Receptoría General de Rentas del Estado have enormous meaning to the Tepoztecan. The first is the body in charge of all cases of violation of the public order, and their agents have frequently come to Tepoztlán to make arrests or to track down offenders. The Procuradería settles property cases and often sends summons to Tepoztecans to appear at a certain hour and day for hearings. Tepoztecans complain bitterly about the fact that the Procuradería accepts no excuses and will summon a man during the height of the agricultural season just as readily as any other time. Whether a man has bus fare or not, he must appear in Cuernavaca or an order for his arrest and detention will be forthcoming and a fine will be imposed. The Tepoztecan therefore fears the Procuradería, which appears to him to have arbitrary power. He also fears the public jails and the courts, both of which are related to the Procuradería. The state office of rents in Cuernavaca is also disliked, since it collects the bulk of the taxes taken from Tepoztlán.

In Cuernavaca there are such services as a state hospital and state supported medical clinics. But Tepoztecans are under the impression that the hospital is inferior, and rarely go there. A few have more faith in the hospitals of Mexico City and occasionally go there for serious operations.

RELIGIOUS FACTORS

Just as Tepoztecans are aware of an administrative hierarchy whose seat is in Mexico City, so they are aware of a religious hierarchy headed by the archbishop in Mexico City. Of course, they realize that the final authority is the Pope in Rome. The local priest often mentions the Pope and his messages, as well as the messages from the archbishop. The church in Tepoztlán has taken an active part in all the recent campaigns of the national church organization. For example, the four hundredth anniversary of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which was celebrated throughout the nation, was also celebrated in Tepoztlán and was the occasion for the visitation of church dignitaries who explained the great miracle of the apparition of the Virgin to Juan Diego shortly after the Conquest. In their sermons the priests generally identify the Virgin as a symbol of Mexican nationalism. And of course there are Tepoztecans who go on the annual pilgrimages to the shrine of the Virgin. In addition there are other religious cults of widespread popularity in Tepoztlán and other parts of the nation. One such cult is the Holy Saint of Chalma, who is visited annually by many Tepoztecans.

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cultivation. However, it probably also serves to strengthen the outside rows against the wind, and Tepoztecans believe that it protects the inside of the milpa.

In the more fertile lands which are in the hotter and lower portions of the municipio, it is customary to hill all the plants because the corn grows so fast that a third cultivation with oxen would damage the tall plants. The hilling of each plant requires much more labor, and therefore necessitates more capital when *peones* are hired for the job. In areas within the municipio such as Calamatlán, where this hilling is done, the process is referred to as *una tierra y medio cajón*, that is, one cultivation followed by hilling. The hilling is believed to safeguard the tall plants against the winds.

The termination of cultivation is known as the *acabada* and is celebrated by a fiesta in the fields and at home. This generally occurs toward mid-August. Immediately after the last hilling, some Tepoztecans walk around the milpa and recite a speech. The following is a typical speech.

Now I have fulfilled my obligation of attending and cultivating you as you deserve. Now if you do not want to produce, that is your responsibility. For my part I now retire.

A wooden cross is sometimes put in the center of the milpa after the last row is cultivated and prayers and religious songs are said by the owner. Fireworks are set off and bread and cheese, tequila and *ponche* are served to the workers and others present. The oxen are decorated with flowers, generally dahlias, tulips, and banana leaves, and a picture of San Isidro. After celebrating in the milpa the oxen are driven home, where there is more food and drink for the *peones*, the family, and any *compadres* and friends who may be invited. Tamales, rice, tortilla, *mole verde*, and drinks of *ponche* are plentiful, and firecrackers are set off in the patio.

The last cultivation and its celebration are generally over by late August. There follows a long period during which relatively little is done in the cornfields. During this time the farmers harvest their *ciruela* crops, which ripen in early September.

Toward the end of September the fresh corn is ready in the fields, and families turn out to the milpas to roast corn and to drink *ponche*. On September 28, the day of Saint Miguel, the farmers carry a cross made of *pericón*, which has been blessed by the priest, and they place it on the four sides of the milpa to protect it against strong winds which often blow at this time. It is an old belief that if the winds blow strong and the corn is damaged it is because the dancers who represent El Tepozteco at the fiesta on September 8 did not perform properly. While this explanation is widely known, few still believe it. Another old idea is that the wind is caused by the angels spreading their wings.

During October the weeding of the milpa with machete is done wherever necessary. A milpa of ten or twelve *cuartillos* can generally be done by a man in one or two days. After that there is a long period when no work in the milpa is done. During this time farmers continue to pick their *ciruelas*, look after their animals, cut wood, and do other tasks around the house.

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231 434 pesos per year. Adding to this the cost of the pig, we have an expense of 212½ pesos. If the pig is sold for 225, there is a profit of only 12½ pesos after a year's work.

[435] Raising pigs would seem to be more profitable, but the risk is also greater. A year-old breeder pig costs about 150 pesos, and feed for a year runs to 182½—a total expense of 332½ pesos. An average litter of eight, sold at 30 pesos each, gives an income of 240 pesos, providing there are no losses. This income can be obtained for three or four years in succession and then the pig can be fattened and sold for 250 to 300 pesos.

231 435 The price of livestock, like that of most other items, has increased greatly since the turn of the century. The sharpest increase has occurred since 1940. (See Table 40.)

TABLE 40. Price of Work Animals in Pesos, 1901–1944.

Years	Plow Oxen	Mules	Horses	Donkeys
1901–1910	40	60	35	15
1911–1920	35	30	25	15
1921–1925	50	100	40	20
1926–1930	60	125	50	25
1931–1935	65	125	60	25
1936	70	150	70	30
1937	75	170	75	30
1938	80	175	75	30
1939	85	180	80	30
1940	100	180	85	30
1941	110	200	100	35
1942	125	200	125	35
1943	200	200	125	50
June, 1944	400	300	200	75

234 [438] Milk is sold locally by less than a dozen families. The local market consists of a small but increasing group of schoolteachers and Mexican tourists. Most of the milk produced is converted into cheese and sold in the village. It is estimated that [434] a cow produces an average of two liters of milk daily during a period of seven [435] months a year. At current prices of 45 centavos a liter, this would give an annual income of 159 pesos plus about 50 pesos for the value of the calf.

231 [782] Cattle owners will often pay the priest to say a Mass for the protection of the cattle, and are expected to contribute generously to religious fiestas. When a cow or ox is sold, it is customary for the seller to use a portion of the money to light a candle to El Señor de Ixcatepec. When there are *jaripeos* and bullfights, the larger operators generally contribute bulls and money for *ponche* and fireworks.

[776] [777] Most cattle owners have an image of San Antonio, the patron saint of cattle, in their homes. Horseshoes are believed to bring good luck and are seen on the walls of many houses, especially in the homes of livestock owners.

[789] To keep cattle from wandering away, it was customary for the owner to cut off hair from the ear of the cow or ox and bury it under the hearth. This was done

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with cattle brought in from Guerrero in the belief that the animal would forget its past home.

Milk products are used for medicinal purposes. Whey, cheese, and butter are used for skin rashes, and cheese is used as a poultice for snake bites. Some families use, as a purgative, milk in which a cow's tail has been soaked. Pig's fat is commonly used as a salve for inflammations.

CHARCOAL

The production of charcoal by the burning of oak and other woods is one of the most important sources of income for many Tepoztecan families, but primarily for the poor. Charcoal production demands very little capital and few tools; it utilizes the communal forest resources; it serves as a convenient source of income for the landless peasants and as a supplementary source of income for those engaged in agriculture. As a rule, charcoal production is carried on as a part-time activity by farmers during the slack season. But in the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián, about fifteen individuals engage in charcoal production as a full-time occupation.

Charcoal production has risen and fallen at different times in recent Tepoztecan history. Charcoal production on a large scale began shortly after the Revolution, when Tepoztecans returned to the village from their enforced exile. Desperately poor and with all their animals killed off, they eagerly turned to charcoal as salvation. This development was encouraged and organized by a provisional president of the municipio, Jesús Monroy, who was imposed by the state authorities in 1919 shortly after peace was established in the village. Monroy called a meeting of Tepoztecans and organized workers into brigades of charcoal burners. As a result, a large portion of the forests of Tepoztlán was practically denuded, and there arose in the village a cleavage between those who wished to conserve the forest resources and those who cut the trees for charcoal.

During the late twenties, Tepoztlán organized a forestry cooperative, the first in the state of Morelos, and large-scale production began again. Conflict ensued, and the cooperative ceased to exist in 1937. Since that time, charcoal production has continued on an individual basis. Data on charcoal production in the municipio are available for the years 1934–42. (See Table 41.) During this period 3,921,515 pounds of charcoal were produced. These figures are in all probability lower than the actual amount, for much charcoal is produced secretly in violation of federal forestry regulations.

The tools used in charcoal production are an ax, a shovel, a pickax, and a machete. Charcoal workers generally leave the village for the mountains in the early morning, going alone or in groups of two or three friends or relatives. It is not customary to hire workers in this occupation, because most workers want to come home at the end of the day, and charcoal burning necessitates staying out for a few days at a time. To make charcoal, oak and sometimes pine trees are felled, cut up into logs a few feet long, and piled upright to form a charcoal oven or

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ceived the ashes together in a special place set aside in the church. The apportionment of the ashes was done in a hierarchal order for the entire population, first the high functionaries, next the *caciques* and their wives, then the assistant functionaries, and finally the townsmen. In another distribution, ashes were given to those from neighboring villages, then to individuals from more distant villages, and finally to all latecomers.

Despite the increased importance of the church at this time some Tepoztecans, without giving up their faith, had developed a critical attitude toward the church. While most remained passive and docile, by the time the Revolution began many Tepoztecans were ready to join the struggle against the church and state.

THE REVOLUTION

The coming of the Mexican Revolution severely disrupted the religious life of Tepoztlán. The priest and the *caciques*, the strongest supporters of the church, fled for their lives and religious activity came to a standstill. The church and chapels were abandoned, the ancient monastery became troop headquarters and stables, and soldiers camped in the churchyard. Church and municipal archives were reduced to ashes, the sacred communion cups disappeared, cloaks were taken from the holy images to cover the wounded. For weeks at a time the local population had to live in the hills to avoid being killed. As an informant put it, "Who could think of religion in those days?"

After many bitter years peace was slowly established, and "since man cannot live without religion, for it makes him bad," once again the people began to think of the church.

In 1920, when the fighting was about over, an incident occurred which greatly stimulated religious life. At that time there was a drought in Tepoztlán and the surrounding area and the crops were severely threatened. In the same year, according to our informants, El Tepozteco returned to Tepoztlán. He appeared to a peasant from Yautepec who was on his way to Tepoztlán. The mythical figure no longer wore his ancient dress but was dressed as a humble peasant in white shirt and *calzones* and broad-brimmed Zapatista sombrero, and with a handkerchief tied around his neck in typical local fashion.

El Tepozteco spoke to the peasant, saying, "Go and tell my village that I am very angry because they have my mother (the Virgin of Natividad) naked and that is why I have not wanted it to rain. They must buy her a crown and a tunic of silk and satin and then I will send abundant rain."

Then he mysteriously disappeared and the man from Yautepec hurried to Tepoztlán to tell what had happened. When the news had spread through the village, some of the *mayordomos* of the old *cofradías* took it upon themselves to collect money to buy the clothing and adornment for the Virgin. A few days later, according to Tepoztecans, it began to rain and the crops were saved.

With the help of this incident the more pious people sought to re-establish the church and return to their former religious practices. The village priest, Padre Pedro

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and in leading the hymns and *Te Deums*. He is paid one peso for each Mass and fifty centavos for each *Te Deum*.

(3) The *rezanderos* are men who make a vocation of religion by memorizing many prayers and hiring themselves out to intone these prayers for others on special occasions. For example, if someone loses a horse or cow and wishes to ask San Pedro to help him find the animal he will pay one or two pesos to a *rezandero* to go to the chapel in the barrio of San Pedro and recite the appropriate prayer.

Although the *rezandero* is not recognized by the church as a functionary he is thought of as such by the populace. Some *rezanderos* play an important role in local religious life and enjoy certain prestige. The more skilled have a large repertory of prayers and deliver them with the impressive skill of a priest. It is interesting to note that the two most important *rezanderos*, both of whom were our informants, were also political leaders; one in the Cristero movement, the other in the opposing leftist group. The latter, incidentally, became the first Protestant in Tepoztlán. At present there are approximately ten *rezanderos* in the village and the majority of these live in the barrio of Santo Domingo.

(4) The members and respective officers of the religious associations are a type of lay church functionaries. Many of these associations were founded in colonial times and had a long history of ups and downs. They suffered misfortunes during the struggle for independence and during the Reform and the Revolution but were always reorganized in times of peace. Some of these associations are national and international in character, such as the Asociación Guadalupana, the Apostolado de la Oración, and the Acción Católica; others are essentially local and lack external ties. We shall describe the more important of these organizations.

a) The Asociación de la Vela Perpetua, the objective of which is to give homage to the *Santísimo Sacramento* by permanently maintaining a lighted candle on the altar. The Asociación consists of thirty-one women who identify themselves by wearing a medal suspended on a white ribbon. Each member dedicates one day a month to keeping vigil at the altar. Membership is limited to the maximum number of days in a month and this society is considered honorific and select. In the days of Díaz only the wives of *caciques* were members. The organization has a president, secretary, and treasurer; apart from its routine religious activity, this society serves no other social function.

b) Asociación del Apostolado de la Oración celebrates the first Friday of each month. Although men may join, the present membership consists of twenty-five to thirty women. The distinguishing mark is a medal worn on a red ribbon. It is interesting to note that although this organization has different levels of membership to stimulate the mystic devotion of its members, in Tepoztlán the members fulfill only the rituals of the first order without aspiring to the superior orders.

c) Asociación Guadalupana celebrates the twelfth day of each month in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Membership is made up of thirty women.

d) The Cofradía de la Virgen del Carmen is a sisterhood of about thirty women who celebrate the sixteenth day of each month. The scapulary of the Virgen del

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Carmen is used widely in the village because of the numerous virtues attributed to it. It is useful to frighten away devils and other fear-inspiring beings. It also saves lives by deflecting bullets or machetes. If carried at the time of death, it insures the possibility of "dying well" and the certainty that the Virgen del Carmen will soon remove the soul from purgatory. For these reasons approximately three hundred men, women, and children customarily carry this scapulary.

e) Sagrado Corazón de Jesús celebrates Mass on the first Friday of each month in homage to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Again membership consists of thirty women. This association is considered most powerful because its members are "the best women in the village." The present president is the priest's sister.

f) Asociación de la Adoración Nocturna is made up exclusively of men. The forty members are obliged to confess each month and keep vigil all night of the first Saturday of each month, praying and giving praise to the Holy One. On the following Sunday each member takes communion. However, this society scarcely functions because the majority of the members refuse to fulfill the requirement of confession.

g) Acción Católica de Jóvenes Mexicanos consists of two sections, one for each of the sexes. There are about eighty youths and thirty girls in the organization. The members work to arouse the religious spirit of the people, to organize fiestas to raise funds, and to attract the youth to join. Under the stimulation of the nuns this organization has become extremely active. For the first time, young Tepoztecans have manifested a militant Catholicism of a modern type and have become interested in understanding the religious dogma and in recruiting new members. It is also the only religious association which has a sense of solidarity and imposes mutual obligations upon its members. Members visit each other when ill, celebrate each other's birthdays, and attend weddings and funerals.

h) Vanguardia is an association for children from seven to fourteen years of age. They are required to attend Mass, to confess, and to take communion every Sunday. Membership varies considerably during the year.

Other associations which function only once or twice a year also exist. Some of these are the Hermandád de las Ánimas which celebrates All Saints' Day on November first, the Sociedád de la Virgen de la Natividad which is in charge of preparations for the fiesta of the patron of the village on September eighth. Before the Revolution there was an Asociación de Caridad called San Vicente de Paul which distributed food and clothing to the poor. The society disappeared during the Revolution and was never reorganized.

(5) The *mayordomos*, religious leaders of the barrios, are important functionaries in connection with religious fiestas. They decide how the fiesta is to be celebrated, whether or not to have Mass sung, or to have a sermon, or to invite additional priests, and so on. They arrange for all these services, for the band of musicians, for fireworks, and for whatever else they decide to have. They frequently must spend their own funds to produce a successful fiesta. They also generally serve *mole* and tamales and *ponche* to large numbers of people.

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776 hand, "that one is the Lord of the World." The second is "the one who died for us, the one who was crucified." The third is "the Holy Ghost or the Holy Dove," who is frequently depicted with the symbol of a dove to which Tepoztecans give divine attributes.

El Tepozteco occupies a special place in Tepoztecan religion and is unique to this community. The process by which he was deified and confused with Catholic figures was paralleled in localities all through Mexico during the colonial period. He continues to play an important role in Tepoztlán, is constantly evoked, and is one of the few legendary figures in the village. He is described to the children in the following manner:

Tepozteco cannot be known; his house is on the hill near El Parque. There he has his *comal*, his *metate*, and everything which he needs in his house, but he himself does not appear. He always lives far off among the clouds. When they don't give him a good [821] celebration on the eighth of September he sends a great wind; when the celebration is a good one then he does nothing, he is content. Tepozteco is a god who is lovable and cruel. [753] He has only one punishment for the village—he takes away the water. He makes *los aires* and they cause illness. He has a mother who is in the church. We say a Mass for his mother. His mother is named *Tonantzin* and also *Natividad*.

773 789 Legends about El Tepozteco continually spring up. The most recent of these was told in the early days of World War II, after Mexico declared war on the Axis and obligatory military service was established:

In those days of worry and confusion, a conscript was walking the streets of Cuernavaca. He was crying because he had been called to the army. Suddenly at the corner he saw a boy, dressed like a peasant. The boy asked the youth why he was crying. "Why shouldn't I cry, for I must be a soldier, and they have ordered me to the war to defend the United States, and I must leave my old parents. If it were to fight for my country it would be bad enough but to fight for the gringos. . . ." Then the boy said, "Go in peace. Your tears are not in vain. Neither you nor other young Mexicans will have to go to fight for a foreign government. You will learn to be a soldier, but you will never leave the country. Go to the village of Tepoztlán and take an offering to my mother, the Virgen de la Natividad." Then the boy disappeared mysteriously.

The soldier was very impressed by what had happened. He told his parents and they decided to go to Tepoztlán with an offering. After that they began to tell the people of that village what had happened, and everyone understood that El Tepozteco had spoken again. El Tepozteco kept his word, for none of the conscripts went to fight for the United States.

776 Tepoztecans do not distinguish clearly between those misfortunes which might be considered punishments of God, or the work of the devil. Tepoztecans believe firmly in the devil, who is generally called *el pingo*, and to whom is attributed many of the evils which befall them. The powers of the devil, however, are relatively few; he cannot cause drought but he can cause harm to a person, making him an idiot or carrying him off bodily. The devil always appears dressed as a Mexican horseman or as "a tall gentleman, dressed in black like respectable people,

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754 him revert to human form. *Naguales* have the power to enter houses, even when doors are closed, can steal anything, and can quietly carry off girls by putting them into a deep sleep. To prevent thefts by *Naguales* a cross is marked on the bottom [789] of *metates* which then become too heavy for the *Nagual* to lift. Some *Naguales* [778] will steal girls for a sum of money. *Naguales* cannot be wounded by a knife or a gun, and it is impossible to hit them or throw stones at them because of a secret [776] power which defends them. Some people believe that El Tepozteco can turn himself into a *Nagual* and that he is their chief.

753 *Los aires* are mysterious forces, variously thought of as winds, spirits, or little 755 people who may cause sores, pimples, paralysis, and other illnesses. They are found in stream beds, ravines, in stagnant pools, and atop the highest hills. Tepoztecans [776] are careful to avoid *los aires* and not to offend them. Some old women still say certain Náhuatl phrases asking permission of *los aires* to take water from the stream. [312] Those who must pass by stagnant water after bathing in a *temascal* must drop some of the leaves, with which they dried themselves, into the pool in order to avoid [751] headaches, earaches, or watering of the eyes. To get rid of these afflictions one must be cleansed with salt and yarrow leaves which are afterward thrown into the middle of the street. Sometimes when a person eats beside a stream or near a ravine, he will be attacked by *los aires* and will have a headache and fever. The illness is treated by cleansing the person with herbs, which are then thrown into the stream [787] or ravine. If the sick person continues to have fever and dreams of canes, water, or food, it means that *los aires* struck him very hard and must be fed. *Mole*, tamales, [782] and fruit are prepared, and a special loaf of bread in the shape of a doll is ordered from the baker. The doll is decorated in red, and the meal, adorned with red crepe paper, is carried to the suspected stream and left there.[10]

242 *Los aires* are also believed to take refuge in anthills, and one who disturbs an 825 anthill may suffer grave injury. For this reason no Tepoztecan dares open an ant- [776] hill to remove the queen ant, despite the fact that the local variety of ants is very [753] voracious and can destroy an entire cornfield. When a farmer discovers an anthill in his field he will place food, such as mango leaves, around the hole, so that the ants will not eat the corn. The farmers sometimes place poisonous leaves at an anthill, but the ants soon learn not to eat them. Some of the more advanced farmers use chemical products including D.D.T. to kill the ants but even the most educated will not open an anthill.

753 Informants relate that not long ago a man, not of Tepoztlán, used to sell ant dung as fertilizer. He collected the material from anthills, but after six months of this work he fell ill, became badly crippled, and died. The same thing happened to the uncle of one of our informants; after opening an anthill he spent eight years in bed, crippled and inflamed from the effects of *los aires*.

787 Belief in good and bad omens continues in Tepoztlán. These beliefs are innu-
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[10] In Redfield's account a real doll, with red cheeks and decorated with colored yarn, is used. The bread doll is more closely reminiscent of the dough images offered in propitiation in pre-Hispanic times.

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847 *curanderos* in other villages to "cure" themselves. However, the only approved method of limiting the number of pregnancies is to avoid intercourse as long as 842 possible after the birth of a child.

BIRTH

844 When the baby is expected, a curtain is hung to screen the bed of the expectant mother, and delivery takes place behind this. Poorer families hang up a *petate*. When labor pains begin, the midwife is called. Occasionally the husband will assist the wife, but the majority of women are embarrassed by his presence and insist that he leave. One of the underlying beliefs throughout the delivery is that difficulty is due to "cold" and that "heat" must be applied. The patient lies on a *petate* on the floor, and the midwife massages the abdomen, the back, and the hips, with various [278] heated oils and unguents. These may be oil of violet, white lily, rosemary or al- monds, or *altea*, depending upon the midwife. The heat and the massage is to [780] warm the infant, loosen it, and make it slip out more easily.

[278] The patient is then given a mixture of *tlatlaxcametl* with chocolate, sherry, and egg, to make the labor pains stronger, or *pimienta gorda* is boiled and given. The abdomen is massaged and rubbed all the while, and the mother is wrapped in a blanket to make her perspire. A *cenidor*, or sash, may be tightly bound around the waist at this time to keep the back from weakening and the bones from spreading and to prevent hemorrhage later. The patient may kneel at this stage, and the baby is delivered on the *petate* and wrapped by the midwife in a clean, warmed, old cloth. If it is a dry birth, the mother is given more *tlatlaxcametl*. In cases of difficult 845 or delayed births, the family, at the suggestion of the midwife, may buy a candle for 782 the Virgen de Monserrat, the guardian of pregnant women. The patient measures four fingers on the candle, a mark is made at that point with a centavo, and the candle is put before the image. If delivery does not occur before the flame reaches the mark on the candle, the case is considered very grave.

845 Delayed births are sometimes attributed to the fact that the woman does not bear down at the proper time, and attempts are made to eject the child by provoking [825] nausea and vomiting. This may be achieved by putting a chicken feather or the tail [278] of an opossum into the woman's mouth.[10] The tail is sometimes cooked and given as a drink. The woman may also be given her husband's urine or the dirty soapy water in which he has washed his hands. It is believed that when a woman in labor breathes out or screams every time she feels pain, the child rises instead of descends. The mother is given something to bite on, usually her braid, and is told to keep her mouth closed. Even speaking is discouraged. It may be such practices, found in [152] many parts of Mexico, which have led observers to describe Mexican Indian women as stoical during childbirth. In Tepoztlán, women frequently pray and scream when they suffer severe pains, and only the *más valientas* are quiet.

Difficult births and extended labor, sometimes over several days, are not uncom-

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[10] In Tzintzuntzan, the woman's braid is forced down her throat.